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# LEWIS HENRY MORGAN

# THE INDIAN JOURNALS

## 1859-62

[Title page]

*Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press*

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[428(A)]
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Along the Kansas River are the Indian Reservations. First we have at the mouth on the north side the Wyandottes, a branch of the Iroquois family. Next west of them are the Delawares, and above them are the Pottawatamies; on the south side are the Shawnees, whose lands extend from Kansas City to near Lawrence. There are short breaks between the reservations between which the white settlers have got in, but the settlers are excluded from nearly the whole of the splendid land along this river. They have continued to lease some of it and to marry Indian wives and get adopted into the tribes and thus some few have gained farms, or the possession at least of valuable land. The whites of course are anxious for the further removal of these Indians, and their wiser men will see the necessity of their removal if they would save them from extermination by the usual process.

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I understand the Shawnees have by treaty with the government[11] divided up their lands as to give to each man, woman and child 200 acres of land, to be owned in fee by each but without the power of sale for eight years, after which each may sell. The

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[418 (B)]

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423 balance of these lands they have sold to the government for 60 cents per acre. Upon these last lands the settlers have entered.

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423 The Delawares have also made a new treaty, by which after reserving a portion of their splendid reserve, they have agreed that the Government may sell the remainder for their benefit at public sale by auction, and that after deducting the expenses of the survey and sale, they are to have the remainder.[13] If the Indians located in this territory manage their property rights well, they will become well off, every individual, from the proceeds of their lands. They have possessed themselves of the finest part of Kansas under the treaties which provided for their removal.

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
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traits are sufficiently numerous or take place with continuous contact, the process is acculturation. In practice, diffusion is also to be distinguished from acculturation on a difference in emphasis. That is, when the distribution of a single trait or a nexus of traits is the problem in hand, the spreading of the trait or traits is an example of diffusion, but when the subject of inquiry is a single culture receiving or giving many traits through diffusion under a condition of continuous contact, the process is called acculturation.

12 The Delaware tribe with its well-documented history offers an excellent opportunity for the study of the process of acculturation and also the testing of the hypothesis that when a culture is invaded or confronted by an alien culture and particularly a superior or more complex one, its technology is the first aspect to change, sociological concepts and practices are more resistant, and the spiritual life is the last aspect to be affected.

123 A resumé of documentary material relating to the Delaware was followed by field work among the Delaware in northeastern and south-central Oklahoma in the fall of 1938.

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
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# III. ANALYSIS OF DELAWARE CULTURE

## THE PROJECT

The purpose of this study of the Delaware was to assemble and analyze data on the culture of the tribe from the earliest white contact to the present, with a view to determining what changes have taken place in their culture, when, and why.

The method used to assemble these data in comparable form was determined by the nature and scope of that portion of the material that pointed the way for such a study. For an understanding of the boundaries of this study an explanation of the provenience of this material is in order.

From 1813 to 1831 Lewis Cass was governor of Michigan Territory and *ex officio* superintendent of Indian affairs for the region. His interest in the Indians as individuals and as bearers of a dying culture led him to circulate in 1821 a pamphlet entitled *Inquiries respecting the History, Traditions, Languages, Manners, Customs, Religion, &c. of the Indians, Living within the United States,*[1] containing approximately four hundred questions with word lists in addition. A short time later another pamphlet entitled *Additional Inquiries respecting the Indian Languages*[2] was issued which emphasized the interest Cass had in language. In 1823, both pamphlets were reprinted and bound together with continuous paging.[3]

The queries were widely distributed among Indian agents, traders, and others who might be able to furnish information on specific tribes. Some of the recipients were dismayed by the number of questions, and, feeling that they did not have the fund of knowledge necessary to answer them, returned the pamphlets. Nevertheless, numerous answers were received by Cass, but they were, Cass reported to Schoolcraft in 1823, "more valuable for quantity than quality."[4] Cass planned on using the material so

[1] Detroit: Sheldon & Reed, 1821. 30 pp.
[2] 32 pp. No date or place of publication is given.
[3] Detroit: Sheldon & Reed, 1823. 64 pp.
[4] See letter of Henry Rowe Schoolcraft to Cass, November 22, 1823, The National Archives, Office of Indian Affairs, Michigan Superintendency Letterbook, No. 2, 1823, p. 265.

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PART IV

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Baptist Delaware Mission,
Kansas T. June 9, 1859

I left the Shawnee Mission (Friends) yesterday morning and reached here the same evening. I crossed Kansas River at the Delaware Crossing, about twelve miles above its mouth; and was so fortunate in point of time as to be there on Payment Day, which is the annual gala day of the nation. As I had never seen a government payment of Indian annuities I was, of course, very glad that it happened as it did. After spending about four hours as a spectator of this curious scene, I went on to the Mission. Today Mr. Pratt and myself went down again, and spent a few hours, the payment still going on, but so near completed that they expected to finish tonight. We have just returned somewhat fatigued by the ride, as the day is warm. Some account of the payment must be given, although it is one of those scenes which should be seen to be appreciated. The amount paid was universally large, it being no less a sum than $78,000 to something less than 1000 people all told, men, women and children, and was paid in gold and silver. In January 1858 the Delawares numbered by census 988. At the present June census their number is but 941. These figures were given me by Mr. Ford, a merchant of Lawrence, who stops here and is looking after the accounts with the Delawares. I supposed the nation was not diminishing, but rather on the increase.

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[450 (A)]

[*Payment Day*]

657 The place of payment was centrally located
527 but a most inconvenient place in itself, as it was upon a side hill with very rough ground all around it. The only recommendation was the eight or ten houses which made up the settlement, and furnished shelter for
[439] the goods of the traders, who are inseparable from all payments. The number present was large, just as many of the Delawares as could possibly leave their homes, with a single one behind in some cases to watch the premises. About 800 were present and some Shawnees from the opposite side and perhaps 100 white people, including traders and spectators. I arrived about 10 A.M. and the paying out commenced about 1 P.M.

291 The Indian women were all dressed out
177 in their best attire, as this is the only occa-
[527] sion that ever brings them together as a
[657] people. We saw the fruits of the sales of
[439] previous years, and some of the present, in advance a few hours of the time of payment, as the traders are eager to commence their work at once. In the first place the Delaware women have usually dropped the Indian skirt, and put on the long dress of the white female. I thought I saw a skirt upon an elderly woman, although it was covered up with a gown. Their dresses are of all colors, and some of them of rich materials. A few were dressed in colored muslin with silk shawls, and looked quite becomingly, but the most of them were, strange to say, dressed in silk gowns, some of which were brocade patterns of rich brocade silk, some were black, these looked the best. Some were crimson and black, some fiery plaid; the most of them were in bright colors. Over these they wore silk shawls of every color and shade, most of them fringed. They were expensive silk shawls of good

D 291 177 materials. Some of them had on two shawls, and some a third arranged as a neck drape. They appeared to have put on all they had, to show it, the quantity of dress being of more importance in their sight than its style, or quality.

Of course their appearance as a whole was fantastic and ludicrous. The dresses were made without taste from scant patterns, and worn without hoops or petticoats, thus giving to the skirt an appearance not to be compared for a moment with the Indian female skirt of cloth and blanket of the same, but these would be too warm for Kansas. I was glad to see the gown upon them, as it is a move in the right direction. At home they may wear the Indian gown, but I doubt it. The Shawnee women, all [S 291] that I saw, wore the gown. On their heads they tie a silk handkerchief universally. I did not see a bonnet among them.

D 142 144 The color of the Indian women is quite uniform, and is light. It shows that the white blood infused into them in the East has been well diffused throughout. The next cross with the white will make a pretty white child, of which I saw a few and but a few specimens, as the Delawares are quite [D 563] vigorous against intermarriage with the whites, and also against unlawful intercourse. As a whole, the expression on the D 142 face of the women was pleasant and healthful. They look strong, literally cleanly and [D 164] healthy, although I am told by Mr. Ford that syphilis is among their women to an alarming extent. Their faces would not lead to such a suspicion.

D 291 The men were more fantastically dressed than the women, and did not appear half as well. Their fancy dresses were cheap and absurd, rendering their general appearance [D 191] ridiculous. There were many good faces among them, and also well dressed Indians

[750 (c)]

291 who speak our language and have the man-
[191] ners and address of gentlemen. Some of the
old men and some of the young men had on
colored calico frock coats of the most gaudy
[302] colors. Many had vermilion on their faces,
thus giving them a low appearance, and I
saw a few girls with spots of it in their
[301] cheeks. One man I saw with a silver orna-
ment in his nose, which covered part of his
mouth. Many of the men wore leggings with
a wide side projection, ornamented, and
the breech cloth, over which they wore a
vest or shirt, and perhaps one of the frock
coats of calico above named, with head
bands of bead work over the shoulder and
meeting in a large bead work pocket on the
right hand side. As a body I should think
the men inferior to the women.

454 The Delawares have a million and up-
648 wards in the national treasury at five per
cent interest. Their regular annuity is
[657] $50,000. The present is a part of two pay-
ments, I understand, and is larger than
usual. There were several stores full of
443 goods, and a great many stands out in the
open air with the protection of canvas. The
492 great show of all was in saddles and bridles,
of which I presume I saw of saddles alone
[435] 150; the price ranges from $15 to 50 dol-
lars, the ordinary being $22 to $25. They
are the Mexican saddle, made at Westport,
Mo., and the kind usually used in Kansas
and this part of the west. It has a high pom-
mel, wooden stirrups usually, which are
easier than metal for long journeys, and a
well stuffed and quilted seat, with a high
rear plate. They are far superior to our
eastern saddle for riding.

439 The assortment of goods was creditable
to the good sense of the Delawares, as the
supply was adapted to the demand. Grains
of all kinds, tin wares of all kinds and at
reasonable prices, in fact they could not

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439 make anything on this article, wash tubs and washboards, coffee mills and household articles, calico and muslin goods. The chief take in was in the jewelry of which large and flashy assortments were exhibited, some of it looking extremely well; salt pork, flour and bacon were also offered. The trading, however, was not brisk, and I think was pretty much a failure, the reason being that Wyandotte and Kansas City are within easy reach, where they can buy cheaper and at their convenience. The
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[181] trader's chance lies in the weakness of the Indian before temptation, and his slight regard for money. As the payment was de-
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452 layed more than a day beyond the time, I
443 noticed some of the Indians commenced moving up to book account in advance, which the traders favored. I saw two of them this afternoon arranging [?] payment in the Indian tents, and getting it, and I have no doubt doubling the amount in footing it up, or increasing it largely. They have to pay for a trader's license $25 to the agent, and unless they speculate in some way, they must make a failure on their sales.

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273 I saw no whisky nor ardent spirits of any
657 kind, and consequently no drunkenness or quarrelling. After it is all over tonight and the payment is over, and the government strikes its tent and moves off with the wagon marked U. S. and the small file of soldiers sent to protect the specie, the whisky will show itself, and the pockets of the remaining Indians who have any money will be picked. There were more white men around today than looked well for the Indian women.

S *Shawnees Uncles to the Chippeways, etc.*

648 Buraseau told me that years ago the Ojibwas, Pottawatamies and Ottawas took the

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S 648 Shawnees into their alliance, or perhaps what is nearer the truth, recognized an ancient connection still preserved by tradition, and acknowledged the Shawnees their uncles, by which they admit them to be the older stock.

*Tribes [Clans] of the Delawares and Descent in the Female Line*

D 115 Was introduced by Mr. Pratt to William Adams,[81] Wa-le-oak-se, (White man), a very intelligent young man and an Indian. We went out under a tree and talked an B 681 hour. I found that the children of two tribes are brothers and sisters to each other, and the children of his sisters the same, and that the children of a brother and of a sister are nephew, and something else to each D 614 other, but he thought not uncle. He says the Delawares are now and were anciently divided into three tribes: 1. the Wolf, "round paw"; 2. the Turtle, "unfeathered animal"; 3. the Turkey or fowl, "feathered animal."

That this was a sort of generalization; that the Wolf separated the animals having hair, the Turtle animals without hair, including fish, and Turkey or Fowl, as this means any fowl, the animals with feathers, and these he says are subdivided into a number of others, but he could not give me the names. He said his tribe was that of the Mud Turtle, the turtle that muds himself and then lies in the sun. This was as far as he could go on this head. He says that in D [582] old times no man was allowed to marry a [183] woman of his own tribe, and it was the law until within the last generation, but that now is broken over constantly. That he was of the turtle tribe, and so were both his father and mother. He also said that he was D [611] entirely certain that in old times *the children followed the tribe of the mother*, and that it is

[p 51 (C)]

614 so now where the father and mother were
611 of different tribes. This is a very interesting fact, as it is the first exception, if true, in the Algonquin race which I have found. Mr. Pratt informs me that he understands the children are of the tribe of the mother,
[797] and he has been their missionary for twelve years and for 22 years an Indian missionary. I shall verify this perfectly before I leave. The young man also says that the
672 office of chief was hereditary in the tribe, as he thought, and that a brother or nephew succeeded as frequently as a son, but he was not quite sure on this subject. He gave me
535 the names of 16 of the dances, all he could remember, which will be given later.

602 He said the Delawares thought a good deal more of their relationships than we did, and if there was the least particle of relationship they were glad to find it. He
[582] says that in old times near relatives could not marry, but now they married as near as our cousins.

*Family Names*

551 We took up this inquiry. He says one tribe has no right to use the names of another tribe, as he thinks, and he also says the names can be readily distinguished from one another, but I must inquire further about this. He seemed to think the same name might be used by another tribe, in which case it would be slightly varied. The real truth about the distinctness of the Indian names constantly eludes me.[57A] I shall soon think there is nothing in it.

[57A] [For footnote see category 116, p. 209 (A) — Analyst]

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[p 52(1)]

535 *Dances of the Delawares*

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| 1. Old Religious Dance | 10. Dog Dance |
| 2. Wolf Dance | 11. War Dance |
| 3. Turtle Dance | 12. Feasting Dance |
| 4. Chicken Dance | 13. Dance for the Dead |
| 5. Buffalo Dance | 14. Striking the Stick Dance |
| 6. Bear Dance | 15. Buzzard Dance |
| 7. Doll Baby Dance | 16. Turkey Dance |
| 8. Horse Dance | 17. Duck Dance |
| 9. False Face Dance | 18. [left blank] |
| | 19. Shuffle Dance |

773 829 *Origin of the Three Varieties of the Human Race*

Mr. Pratt mentioned to me a Delaware explanation of the creation of the Negro, Indian and White man, to the effect that the Negro was created first, and was, as we say, a mistake or failure; it was the first attempt at man's creation. The Great Spirit next created the Indian, who was admitted to be a great improvement upon the negro; and last of all he created the white man.

*The Good Spirit and the Boil*

776 753 Mr. Pratt had a boil come on his arm. A Delaware told him he had a good friend, and in explanation said to him that the Evil Spirit had intended to destroy him; that he was followed in his rounds to do mischief to men by a small but good spirit, who continued in various ways to defeat the evil spirit of his purpose, when it was a case in which he wished to save the person from harm. That as the evil spirit was about to put forth his power upon him, the little spirit stepped forward and said to the evil one, "you let me deal with this person," whereupon he took or drew on his invisible bow a small and invisible arrow, and shot

[p 52(B)]

776 Mr. Pratt on the arm, and hence the boil.
753 In the meantime, the evil spirit, seeing the little spirit about to deal with him, passed on, and was thus diverted from his purpose. After doing this friendly act the little spirit at once passed on upon the track of the evil one to arrest and avert as many of his evil deeds as he could by persuasion, cunning or artifice. Thus the Indian said Mr. Pratt had a friend, and this boil was the result of his friendly interposition to save him from a greater evil.

[*Delaware Clans*]

115 Conversation with [Morgan's blank], the mother of Charles Johnny Cake.[83] She is sub. 1 Wolf Tribe. Her husband was Turtle. Her children are Wolf.

614 She confirms the division into Wolf, Turtle and Turkey Tribes, and says these are subdivided. The Wolf has the Bear, the Turtle the Big and Little Turtle, and the Turkey has the Crow. Those belonging to
[582] each subdivision to this day refuse to intermarry; but Little Turtle intermarries with Big Turtle, Bear with Wolf, Crow with Turkey. The children of ancient times and
[611] now are of the tribe of the mother in all cases. The terms Wolf, Turtle and Turkey are general ones, the word Took-seat, the name of the Wolf Tribe means "a round foot." There is another name for Wolf, Tam-me. The word for Turtle, Poke-koo-rin-go, does not mean any particular kind of Turtle, and so the name of the Turkey, Pal-la-ooh, means any kind of fowl. It appears to be a generalization for haired, non-haired and feathered animals. The subdivisions I must learn from her son.

She mentioned the We-loon-see Tribe as that of the Little Turtle, and also the Crow and the Bear, but could not remember their names. She gave We-saw-hut-ko, meaning

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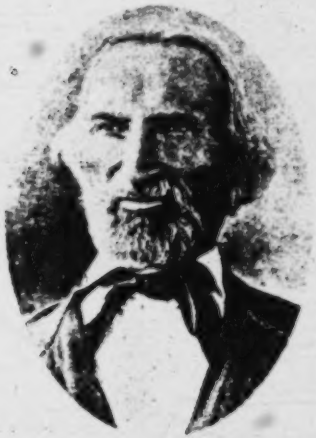

**Charles Journeycake (Johnny Cake) was a chief, and a prominent leader of the Delawares in Kansas, as well as being a widely known Baptist minister. His mother gave Morgan information about the Delawares.**

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"Yellow Tree," as the name of one of the Bands. She appeared to be about 70 years old. She was of the Wolf tribe and her husband Turtle. She said the son did not necessarily succeed the father in the office of chief, but could not explain the succession fully. A brother or a sister's son often succeeded. Captain Ketchum[84] at the time of his death was head chief, a principal chief of the Turtle Tribe of the Delawares. This title or office is hereditary as she thought in the tribe, for she said the Turtles could not have a man of the Wolf or Turkey Tribe for their chief. Ketchum's name was Ta-whe-la-na (Catch Me). He died leaving a son; but was succeeded by John Konner, the present principal or hereditary chief who was the son of the youngest sister of Cap-

[p 53 (A)]

622 tain Ketchum, and of the Turtle Tribe. His
[611] name was Ta-ta-ne-sha. Here we have a practical illustration of descent in the female line, as with the Iroquois. She says each of the three tribes have one hereditary chief, called the Head Chief; that this chief never goes out to war, but stays at home while the Braves go out to fight.

648 The Delawares call the Senecas Mingwa-o, hence I think the historical word Mingoes,[55] a name for the Iroquois. The Delawares call the Iroquois and Wyandottes nephews, and thus assume the name
[186] of uncles, which is a way to express their seniority as well as original superiority.

553 I inquired of her about the family names, and was again put at fault. She says the father and mother can name their children as they please; that they ask some one for a list of old names of persons dead, and choose such ones as they like. She thought the names of the three tribes were kept dis-
[614] tinct, and then that they were used by these tribes indiscriminately. She said her husband named her children, and gave them all Turtle names, which was his tribe, then followed this up by stating that she did not know as it made any difference, that all used the same names. She referred to the
[171] Seneca practice of making a feast when a child was named, but said the Delawares did not do that way.

*Winter*

773 Mr. Pratt mentioned a Delaware tradition
821 about the origin of cold and heat and the change of the seasons as follows. In ancient times a married pair fell into disagreement. They lived in the far north region of cold. The wife, finding it impossible to live with her husband, or in resentment for some injury, travelled into the far south, into the region of heat. The husband became weary

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773 and lonely in her absence, started to make
821 her a visit. As he travelled southward he carried the cold with him and wherever he went it became winter, or rather winter followed his footsteps. After he had concluded his visit he returned and carried back the winter with him as he advanced to the north. From the most ancient times this visit has been annually renewed.

*Indian Persistency*

157 Mr. Pratt mentioned as a recent occurrence
224 among the Delawares, that while a party
521 were out on a Buffalo hunt a few years since, one of them said one day that before he returned he would take a three year old bull buffalo alive. His companions rather laughed at his suggestion as an impossibility, and thought no more about it. This is the age when they are the most ferocious and unmanageable. A few days afterwards this hunter rode up to a herd of buffalo and having singled out a two or three year old bull, he managed to detach him from the

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John Gill Pratt was a dedicated Baptist missionary, working in turn with the Shawnees, the Stockbridge, and finally the Delawares. Morgan regarded him highly.

[p 53 (c)]

157 224 521 herd and gave him a chase. He followed until the buffalo was about tired out, with his tongue hanging out, and hardly able to move, while his own horse was in the same condition. Leaving his horse and his gun, the hunter, fresh and strong, took the buffalo by the tail and drove him on. He then went up an ascent and down on the other side until they came into a wet place where the buffalo stuck in the mud from weakness and exhaustion. He had thus taken his buffalo, in one sense. He was powerless, and still, except as he made slight efforts to fight. After spending some little time in this situation during which the buffalo was gaining strength and he was losing his, he was so fortunate as to espy and signal one of his party, who came to his aid, and the two, with a rope tied to his horns so as to keep at a safe distance from each of them and between both, they led or drove him to camp and thus the Indian maintained or made good his boast.

*Delaware Baptist Mission School*[86]

872 797 This school, under the supervision of Rev. John G. Pratt,[87] a matron, Mrs. Muse, and a teacher, Miss Morse,[88] is in a very flourishing condition and superior to any I have seen in the territory. It has accommodations for 78 Indian scholars as boarders and lodgers. The number last term was 64, the number the present term is about 50, as they have held back for the payment, and will soon come in now.

346 The buildings consist of a two and a half story farm house large on the ground, designed for the sleeping and clothing rooms of the school; another of the same size with a wing for a kitchen, designed for the residence of the superintendent and teachers, and is the eating and cooking place for all.[89] Also a large school house with folding doors

[For footnote, see category 116, p. 209 (c)--Analyst]

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D 346 in the center so as to separate the boys and girls, although they are as yet all together. There are numerous outbuildings, as a farm is carried on in connection with the school of about two hundred acres. The buildings D 872 were erected a few years ago with school [657] money belonging to the Delawares, and is supported with funds in the hands of the government reserved for that purpose.

D [797] The children are clothed, boarded and [657] taught by the Mission, and the government allows $75 per annum per scholar. They have two terms of five months each, and the children are kept in school about seven hours per day. They study reading, writing, and spelling, geography, arithmetic, with blackboard exercises. The scholars are mostly young, those now at school ranging from 6 to 18 years. They look well and healthy and free from sore eyes, and are decently and comfortably clad. This is the true system of Indian education, beyond a doubt, and this school is by far in the best condition of any I have seen. We see here New England cleanliness, system and good management. I did not visit the Mission S 872 School of the Methodist Southern Board 797 among the Shawnees. It is a large and flourishing school, I believe, but complaints are made of the principal of unfairness, of avarice, etc. He has made himself rich and also the Mission, they having secured by treaty between about 2000 acres of land, and at the same time he was active to prevent Friend Harvey from selling his Mission farm of 200 acres, evidently desiring to break up the Friends Mission.

D Mr. Pratt commenced his missionary life 797 22 years ago with his present wife then 20 years of age. He was accepted as a missionary to Burma, but was requested to fill temporarily an Indian Mission then vacant among the Stockbridges near Fort Leaven-

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[p 54(B)]

D 797 worth, and went from there to the Shawnee Baptist Mission now closed, and from there to this Mission about 12 years ago. His wife is still young looking [she was forty-five at the time, ed.] and must have been beautiful as a girl. They are very worthy, refined and agreeable, and my short stay with them has been very pleasant indeed. Mr. Pratt is a well educated and superior man.

S 797 872 The Friends Shawnee Mission has done a good work among the Shawnees, but was never, I fancy, a very large school. There are but two boys there at present, but no doubt they have done as much good in proportion to the means employed as any other missionaries. The Friends are well adapted to gain the confidence of the Indian.

D 555 [*Delaware: Succession of Chiefs*]

In a brief conversation with Charles Johnny Cake, he informs me that the son never succeeds the father in the office of chief, but that the office goes either to a brother or the son of a sister. But strange to say the D 614 582 Turtle, the Wolf and the Turkey tribes each have several subdivisions, and while it was the ancient law that Turtle must always intermarry with Turtle, Wolf with Wolf and Turkey with Turkey, yet the subD [611] divisions were not allowed to intermarry and in these the children were of the tribe of the mother. Mrs. Johnny Cake, the mother D 124 614 582 of Charles, would not or could not tell me the names of the subdivisions. Charles would not today under the pretence that it was important to be right and he doubted his recollection of these subdivisions, although he said there were a number of each.

[454(c)]

124 I am very anxious to know. I asked an old
614 Delaware this morning, and he very coolly
582 told me that these questions were too small, by which he meant, I suppose, that it was prying into family matters rather impertinently.

614 It is by means of these subdivisions with
582 the prohibition of intermarriage that des-
611 cent in the female line is secured.

Lemuel R. Ketchum[90] says:

622 The Delawares have three Heads or great chiefs, one for each tribe. This chief is called Sa-ke-ma. It means Principal Chief. It is the name of the office, or the title of the person equivalent to President or King. They also have two subordinate chiefs. These chiefs together are called Ka-ke-um-ha-suk, or the chiefs. The term also includes the three
[623] head chiefs, and is used in contradistinction to councillors. The office has no special name. These two are inferior. If the three head chiefs decide upon a measure the two inferior must submit, but if two of the head chiefs and the two inferior chiefs should agree and the third head chief should stand out, the thing could not be done. The principal power is with the head chiefs. The three head chiefs can never go out to war, but the two inferior chiefs may. They are not, however, called war chiefs. Besides
623 these three the wise and experienced men of the nation are called councillors or Ha-ha-che-nowl-se-chick, which means simply councillors. These have a right to speak in a council of the chiefs. They can speak of their own motion without waiting to be
[562] asked by the chiefs. Women cannot speak in council.

*Religious System*

771 The Delawares believe in a Great Spirit,
[770] and in an Evil Spirit. They also believe in
[775] the immortality of the soul, and that they all went to heaven.

90 [For footnote, see category 116, p. 209(C)--Analyst]

[p 55 (A)]

000 all went to heaven. They have one religious
796 festival at which the Gum-win Dance is performed. This is the great religious dance. This is held once a year every fall, after the corn harvest is gathered. The festival lasts seven days. At this festival they have a number of old dances, which are still maintained among the Delawares. This Festival is called the Gum-win, from the dance. This is held for the purpose of returning thanks to the Great Spirit. They have a feast. Men, about 12, go out beforehand to hunt, and get game for the feast, particularly the deer. There is a class of persons
624 whose business it is to appoint the time for
796 holding this council, to prepare the feast, and supervise the business of the festival. They are both men and women, but Lemuel could not give me the name by which they are distinguished.

*Marriage*

582 Near relatives are not allowed to marry. First and second cousins are within the forbidden degrees; but third cousins under our system are allowed to marry. The names used by the several tribes are used in common. This seems to be the preferable conclusion. A young lad at the Mission told me
[614] that those of the same subdivision of the same tribe can intermarry if not too near of kin, but the fact is that they are all of near kin.

*Succession of [Head] Chiefs*

614 Upon the death of a head chief of the Tur-
622 tle Tribe, the three other subdivisions meet
623 in council to agree upon a successor who must be of the same subdivision of the tribe with the deceased, and is either a brother of the deceased or a sister's son. The second chief has the first speech, and the War Chief last, and enumerates the persons who

[455 (B)]

614 have expressed themselves in favor of the
622 person nominated. If they disagree, I have
623 not ascertained how it is adjusted. After the person is agreed upon, then all the chiefs meet in council and perform the ceremony of investing him with his office.

622 The war chiefs are selected and made such by the Head Chief without consulting the people, but not so with the Head Chief.

241 The Delawares are very well advanced as agriculturalists. When Mr. Pratt came
342 among them 12 years ago, as he informs me,
177 they were living in bark houses. Now many of them are living in frame houses two stories and 2½ stories high, some with a veranda in front the whole length, and they have good barns and outbuildings. Some of
231 them have herds of cattle from 25 to 100
422 and have from 5 to 20 swine, sheep, wagons, and all kinds of farming implements. Their future prospects are certainly very flattering if they push on as they have here. Their
648 women are interfered with a good deal by
563 the whites, and they are quick to marry
557 white husbands, as they seem to regard that as advancing. It would be so were their husbands respectable.

657 With their large annuity of $50,000 per annum, the best timbered lands in the state, and sufficient of them to give them all large farms, there is no reason why they should not become both agriculturalists and respectable citizens of the state. When they
000 become wealthy farmers as some of them now are, their children will intermarry respectably with our white people, and thus the children will become respectable and, if educated, in the second and third generations will become beautiful and attractive. This is to be the end of the Indian absorption of a small portion, which will improve and toughen our race, and the residue run out or forced into the regions of the mountains.

15:Morgan E-5 (1859)1959
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[55(c)]

tains. There are two cases of *polygamy* here. Two well known Indians have two wives each. The Delawares are opposed to it, and are inclined to make a fuss about it. But I suppose it is an old Indian institution and they cannot make a law against it. If it was contrary to Indian law they would not admit the children of both mothers to annuities. As it now stands, their annuity is a bounty on children. I think the Delawares are tempted by their annuities.

*Religious System of the Delawares*[91]

William Adams, Del.

The Delawares believe in a Great and in an Evil Spirit. They also believe in a number of subordinate spirits, some of whom are waiting or ministering spirits of the Good and some of the Evil One. Among the waiting spirits of the former are the following.

1. Kaka-sha-ha-no-hase, the Spirit of the Whirlwind. He is represented as having the form of a man and is called Grand Father.

2. O-we-ya-la-so, the Spirit of the Wind. He is represented as having the form of a man, with long streaming hair, so long that it sometimes gets entangled in the trees as he rides along. He is called Grand Father.

3. Pate-hoc-hoo-weh, the Spirit of Thunder. He is represented as having the form of a bird, an Eagle, called Grand Father.

4. Wa-o-tun-oo-wase, the Spirit of Water. She is represented as having the hands of a woman, and the body, but ending in a fish's tail. She is supposed to dwell in every drop of water as well as in every river, creek, lake and stream, and sometimes to be a punishing spirit. She it is in cases of drowning who pulls the person under the water. Hence her name means "Pulling Down far Under."

5. Has-gueme, the Spirit of Corn. She is represented as having the form of a woman, and is called our Mother. She can foretell

[456 (A)]

776 about the coming crop. When she rises with her hair combed smooth and shining, and is seen in this condition, it is a favorable omen and indicates an abundant crop. When she rises with her hair uncombed and loose, it indicates a bad crop, or a failure of the harvest.

6. Wa-ma-take-a-nese, the Bad Spirit. He is represented as a little boy, with a bow and arrow, and as a constant friend of the Indian. He is everywhere and always at hand in the most impossible places, ready to assist us in our trials and troubles. He is a servant of the Great Spirit.

776 772 [824] [821] 7. Ma-mun-da-ase, the Spirit of War. He is represented as having the form of a panther, with a very long tail. He can foretell war about to arise, who will fight, and who succeed. The meteoric stones are dropped by him, and the war will arise in the direction from which the meteor comes, and go in the direction it goes. He is under the control of the Great Spirit, as are all good spirits.

776 773 The Great Spirit has the form of a man (name elsewhere). The Evil Spirit has the form of a man with one leg, the leg of an ox. The tradition is that the Evil Spirit was created by the good and was himself originally good, but he originated a contention among the inferior spirits which resulted in a division and taking of sides. In the midst of this contention they all came into the presence of the Great Spirit, who seized the Evil One and as a mark of his disapprobation and as a punishment, he wrenched off one of his legs and placed in the room of it that of an ox, that he might ever afterwards be known and recognized at once as an evil spirit, and then sent him down to the earth with the evil spirits who followed him.

775 Heaven they consider to be immediately over their heads and a place in which they

[4 56(B)]

775 have a bodily form. It is a journey of 12 days from earth to Heaven after death. [171] They believe as do the Iroquois, that the soul does not leave the body finally at death, but that it revisits the body for a few days before it takes its final departure. For this [764] reason, as Adams says, they bury on scaffolds in the trees, and in a sitting position near the surface of the earth. Last year he made a coffin for an Indian, and his friends made him bore a hole in the head of the coffin, the object of which being to allow the spirit free egress and regress to and from the body.

Heaven is a place of rest. They follow up the path, and the first stopping place is a place where they find a supply of vermilion or red paint. They cannot pass this place without painting their faces. If they have been accustomed to paint on earth, the paint will readily adhere, unless they have been very wicked, and then they pass on without delay. But if not used to painting, or if they have been very wicked, the paint will not adhere, and thus they are detained at this place until the Evil Spirit removes them to a place of punishment.

775 577 They say there are seven points of good and evil. If the deceased has four of the points of good in his favor, or more, he is sure to pass on to heaven, but if there [are] four or more bad, he cannot go to heaven but must be placed in a place of misery and unhappiness where he is punished according to his evil deeds. If he was accustomed to paint, it will be more apt to stick, and that is all that is claimed for this meritorious act. There is a second stopping place on the way where the selfish and covetous are surrounded and burned up in the article [on which] they set their store upon earth, and thus are kept out of heaven. They

775 825 have a belief that mosquitoes sprang up out

[¶ 52(C)]

775 of the souls of those who were punished by
825 the evil spirit, the wreck, or fragments into which they were cut up were turned into mosquitoes and such evil creatures.

776 Bad spirits are believed to pass by about
787 day break and good spirits are believed to pass along about dark. For this reason boys are often sent to bed without supper, that they may commune with or be visited by
[785] good spirits, the fasting state being thought to be favorable to such communion, and for the same reason are often compelled to get up before day break that the evil spirits may not obtain or exercise any wicked influence upon them.

776 I am told that the Shawnee Female Great
821 Spirit is in reality the moon, and is worshipped as our Grand Mother or something of that sort; and Isaac Johnny Cake who mentioned this [to] me also said that the Great Spirit of the Delawares was represented and believed to be a brother of the Sun, and that the Moon was the Grand Mother of the Great Spirit; and young Toucey, the Stockbridge, says that there is
[171] some evidence of a [?] in of the sun in the worship of several of the Indian races, including his own. The Iroquois return thanks to the sun for heating the earth and to the moon for cooling it, but this does not show a sun worship or anything like it.
[115] William Adams is to correspond with me on the religious system of the Delawares, and I hope to find out something definite about it.

*Gum-mueen*

796 This festival or annual worship of the Delawares as explained by William Adams and of which he is to write to me more fully, is quite interesting. They believe unless they
[241] observe it once a year their crops will fail, and they will lose the favor of the Great Spirit.

[#57(A)]

796 Spirit. It lasts 6 days. It may be repeated by another person or family for a second 6 days, and so on until the feelings are satisfied. It has been known to last a month. The meeting is called by one of a certain class, who I presume correspond with the Keepers of the Faith of the Iroquois. They are called A-la-pa-cte, meaning *Dreamers*. The [346] people meet in a large house erected on purpose for this worship and used for nothing else. They build two council fires in the [614] house, and the people assemble by tribes, the Turtles by themselves, the Wolves by themselves and the Turks by themselves. They use belts of wampum and have many ceremonies. It would seem that this council or religious meeting was called by some one [346] person. The door of the house of worship must open to the east.

796 533 When they are assembled two singers [?] sit down to two dried and rolled up deer skins, with sticks in their hands to beat time. The leader, who is stationed on the right hand side of the door, gets up and [534] shaking a turtle shell rattle, comes in extemporizing verses which are adapted to the set tune of his choosing, to relate his dream. As he relates his dream in music, he dances, they sing the same time and beat time, and all who enter the dance, dance [535] the religious dance which altogether is called the Gum-mween. This is repeated day by day for six days. But the leaders change. When one has told his dream, he hands his rattle to the next one, who in like singing relates his dream in words of his own making, but sung in an old well known tune of his own choosing.

796 [262] Before the festival 12 hunters are sent out for deer's meat, as no other meat is allowed. About 9 each morning this meat is served to all. At sundown each day they have an exhortation from the oldest wise

[457 (B)]

796 man of the nation. Once during the six days,
[782] about an hour after night fall, they burn
[824] incense by throwing on the fire in the cen-
ter of the house cedar branches, which fills
the house with smoke and then ascends to
the Great Spirit. If no one repeats the wor-
ship, or when all are done, the people all go
out in Indian file, and facing the east, in a
[782] united voice they thank the Great Spirit for
sparing their lives through the year, and in-
voke him to spare them until the next Gum-
mween.

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Munsee

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*Munsees*

101 The Munsees are closely allied to the Dela-
614 wares. They have the three tribes, Wolf,
Turtle and Turkey, with the prohibition of
[582] intermarriage in the tribe, and with descent
[611] in the female line. This Toucey told me who
has lived among them. They are old Con-
101 necticut Indians. There are about 50 near
162 Fort Leavenworth, and some I think near
131 Green Bay.

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11. By treaty in 1854, the Shawnees surrendered 1,600,000 acres of land to the government and received "one-eighth of it back for distribution among the tribe . . . Voluntary allotment in severalty was a prominent feature of the treaty, and the division of the diminished reserve was to be made upon the basis of 200 acres for every individual . . . In the winter of 1856–57, Lot Coffman, a surveyor, was appointed by the federal government to take a census of the Shawnees and to distribute the land in accordance therewith" (Anna Heloise Abel, "Indian Reservations in Kansas and the Extinguishment of Their Title," in *Transactions of the Kansas Historical Society, 1903–04*, VIII, 93).

12. See *ibid.*, pp. 88–90.

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[p209 (A)]
[pp 205-208 not processed]

000 81. In *Systems* (p. 289) Morgan acknowledges the assistance of William Adams, "a young Delaware, educated at Delaware Mission in Kansas," in obtaining the kinship system of the Delawares.

121 82. Morgan was much interested in the method of bestowing names upon individuals in Indian society. Upon his return from this trip he read a paper, "Indian Mode of Bestowing Names," at the 13th meeting of the American Association for the Advancement of Science in Springfield, Massachusetts, in August; it was published in the *Proceedings*, pp. 340–43. It seems probable that he suspected that he might find here a distinctive characteristic of Indian culture—as he apparently regarded the custom of sleeping nude and wearing the breechcloth, frequently mentioned in *Systems*—that could be used for purposes of historical reconstruction.

[513]
[291]

000 83. Charles Johnny Cake (or Journeycake, as he signed his name, as a representative of the Delawares, to agreements with the United States in 1854) was a chief and prominent leader of the Delawares in Kansas. He was baptized in 1833, and later became "the

[648]

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[#209(B)]

most noted Baptist preacher" among the Delawares. Charles' brother, Isaac Journeycake, was quite prominent, also. One of Charles Journeycake's daughters, Nannie, married the eldest son of Mr. Pratt, Lucius, in the spring of 1860: "the bride was dressed in white muslin, with veil and orange blossoms, and looked very pretty" (Clara Gowing, "Life Among the Delaware Indians," *Collections of the Kansas State Historical Society, 1911–12*, XII, 186–87; *Home Mission Monthly*, Vol. 14, 1892).

In *Report on Indians Taxed and Indians Not Taxed in the United States* (Washington, D. C., 1894) there are three pictures dealing with Journeycake: (1) a portrait of him alone, 1890 and (2) a photograph of his residence, 1890 (both following p. 296), and (3) photograph of Journeycake with a delegation of Indians in Washington in 1867 (following p. 298).

84. There were many Ketchums among the Indians, not only among the Delawares, from 1850 to 1880 or later. "Captain" Ketchum is listed as a signatory of agreements with white organizations in 1832, 1843, and 1844 (*Transactions of the Kansas State Historical Society*, IX, 204; *Collections of the Kansas State Historical Society*, Vol. 16, pp. 755, 761). John Ketchum, Que-sha-to-wha, along with Charles Journeycake and other Delawares signed an agreement with Commissioner George W. Mannypenney in 1854, ceding lands. A James Ketchum was a member of the delegation of Delawares—which included Charles Journeycake and Agent Pratt, also—that went to Washington in 1867; he appears in the group picture mentioned in the previous footnote. In April, 1860, Mr. Pratt and a teacher at the mission drove out "to see chief Ketchum, who was sick." The teacher has left us a vivid picture of Ketchum's residence (Clara Gowing, *op. cit.*, p. 188).

85. From Algonquian *Mingwe*, "stealthy, treacherous." Used also by whites during the late

15:Morgan E-5 (1859)1959
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[p209(c)]

colonial period to designate a detached band of Iroquois who settled in Pennsylvania (James Mooney, "Mingo," in *Handbook of the American Indians*, F. W. Hodge, ed.).

86. The school was begun in 1833; the first baptism occurred four years later. The school was moved out of low bottom lands in 1848 to its 1859 location (Rev. S. F. Smith, "Brief History of Missions in Kansas and Missouri," in *Home Mission Monthly*, Aug. 1879; Clara Gowing, *op. cit.*, p. 183, n. 3).

87. John Gill Pratt was born in Hingham, Mass., in 1814. He graduated from Andover Seminary in 1836 and was licensed to preach. In 1837 he married and immediately set out for Kansas. He served at the Shawnee Baptist Mission, where he printed religious material for Indians, and helped to publish a newspaper, the *Shawnee Sun*. He worked with the Stockbridge Indians from 1844 to 1848, when he took charge of the Delaware Baptist Mission. Mr. and Mrs. Pratt had seven children. Mr. Pratt died in 1900; Mrs. Pratt, a short time later (Gowing, *op. cit.*, pp. 183–84, n. 4).

88. Elizabeth S. Morse, born 1814, was "sent out from Boston in 1842 by the American Baptist Mission Union" to teach school among the Cherokees. She went to the Delaware Mission School about 1848, where she taught until the Delawares were removed to Indian Territory in 1867, when she went to live with friends. She died in 1899 (Gowing, *op. cit.*, p. 183, n. 2).

89. In October, 1859, Miss Clara Gowing arrived at the Delaware Mission School. She was born in Massachusetts, had been president of the W.C.T.U. in Reading, Massachusetts, had taught in colored schools in Virginia, etc. She has left us a very interesting account of her five years at the Delaware Mission, in her article, previously cited, pp. 183–93.

90. In *Systems* (p. 289) Morgan acknowledges the aid of "Lemuel R. Ketchum (Wool-le-

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115 kun-num, 'Light of the Sun'), a Delaware."

000 91. The following data on the religion of the Delaware are taken from Part Five of the Journal.

[pp211 - 233 not processed]